

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar - like those of Air - have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for: - 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence: - A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:- 582

Mother's brother's daughter.....	3
Father's sister's daughter.....	7
Classificatory cross-cousins.....	6
Mother's sister's daughter.....	11
Mother's sister's daughter's daughter.....	9
Other kinwomen.....	8

Marriages total... 44

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Bali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Agouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10-20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2-7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50-100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinamen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief (*Amyar*). These *khalifas* are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8-9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imensiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tifhart sections.

Tenants	Name and Value of Sub-Area	Land-Rent to the Amenokal
64 427 651 224 613 DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief.	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. - (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant).	2 goats
JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.	TADJEMART No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section	ARECHCHOUM No particular value.	2 water bags, 1 rope of goat's hair.
KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section.	IN DALADJ Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section.	AKALARAREN Hunting of barbary sheep.	Unknown.
BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tifhart section.	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area.	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown).
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet.	ABELESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abelssa and many other agricultural settlements.	No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area.
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections.	TAESSA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. - Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this sub-area, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year.	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief).

Property Marks in Ahaggar

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Fig. 100. Earmarks of the types used for goats and sheep among the Northern Tuareg. Ahaggar, the tribes *Dag Ball* and *Agh-en-ichil*.

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*233 never use earmarks for donkeys which are branded like their camels, and I believe that this rule also
565 holds for the *Isekkemaren* Tuareg, though I do not know this to be true for tribes other than those of
422 *Kel Terwis* and *Kel-I-n-tuin*.
- *233 The property brands of the Northern Tuareg are burned into the skin of the camel (donkey) by
1413 means of a redhot iron known as *endel* (Figs. 102a-b), but if this implement is not available another
piece of iron is used, e.g., the iron tripod for suspension of kettles and cooking pots. The brands are
known as *ahwalen* (sing. *ahwel*), and there are a great many different ones which have their particular
422 names. These brands are frequently depicted in literature (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 629 f.; Lhote
*233 1955a, p. 235), and spoken of as "tribal brands". However, as property marks are patrilineally
614 inherited while tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, the members of the same
tribe will possess more than one camel-brand. For marriages are contracted between different tribes,
1512 though some of these units are predominantly endogamous. Furthermore there are a few Tuareg who
1772 use different camel-brands for camels inherited from the father and the mother, as there are some
who have adopted the mother's father's brand because their father's brand was believed to have brought
bad luck in camel-breeding. For these reasons there are frequently more than one brand within a
●(613) tribe, and individuals or small patrilineages generally add to their main brand (*ahwel*) a supplementary
brand known as *azeglu*.

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* 233 brand known as *aspeh*. To illustrate, all this I reproduce the camel-brands used within three tribes of
614 Ahaggar (Fig. 101a-c).

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192 The term *sawsi*, which is the Tuareg word generally applied to the unit here called a tribe, seems to have the meaning of "a hand-root from which fingers issue". But the word may have other meanings, e.g., "a mat (*sésubert*) plaited from *afepa*-grass" (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, III, p. 1533). The latter meaning intimates something kept firmly together, while the word *sawsi* in its first sense seems to indicate a lineage structure. I have sometimes heard Tuareg indicate tribal relationship between two persons saying that they belong to the same hand (*afur*), or that they are of the same root (*aké*, that is the root of a tree). There are other words which are sometimes used for "tribe". One term is *sejžebūt*, another is *ayref*, but the meaning of these words seems to be the more general one of "people" or "race". An interesting word, namely *hawa*, which has the definite meaning of "mother's kin", is according to Foucauld also used synonymously with "tribe" (Foucauld 1951-52, II, p. 603), but according to information I have gathered in Ahaggar these two words are not entirely synonymous.

614 It is most remarkable that the Ahaggar Tuareg do not follow any particular rule for the naming of tribes. Some tribes are named after an ancestress (e.g., *Kel Reis* = *Kel Kella*, that is "people descending from the woman *Kella*"), while other tribes have avuncular names (e.g., *Téghet-e-Éfz*, that is "the man *Éfz*'s sister's children"). Both these principles intimate that the tribe is a matrilineal unit, but certain tribes have patrilineal names much like those of Arab tribes (e.g., *Dag Rell*, that is "sons of the man *Rell*"; *Ayi Loweyen*, that is "sons of the man *Loweyen*"). Reference to an ancestor is also made in another way (e.g., *Skadyen*, that is "those descending from the man *Kad*"). In addition we have tribal names which seem to be a kind of nick-names (e.g., *Agah-en-tahli*, that is "the Achilles-tendon of *tahli*" - the word *tahli* being the name of a perennial plant (*Typus elephantine*), and we have geographical names (e.g., *Kel Ahmet*, that is "the people of the Ahmet country"; *Kel Tapalet*, that is "people of the Tapalet region", etc.).

614 Previously I have used the term "clan" for the Tuareg term *sawsi* in agreement with the fact that
611 many people claim it to be a matrilineal unit (cf. Nicolaisen 1959). Thus the noble Tuareg of the *Kel*
565 *Reis* tribe say that they all descend from the woman *Kella*, who lived about seven generations ago and had a maternal female cousin *Sakine* (or *Skine*) who became the ancestress of the other prominent noble tribe in Ahaggar named *Tayen*.

The very numerous vassal tribe the *Agah-en-tahli* is also said by its members to constitute a matrilineal unit. They claim descent from a common ancestress and occasionally use the name *Téghet-e-Éfzen* for their tribe. Actually the *Agah-en-tahli* tribe falls into three sub-tribes known as *Kel Tayen-hawt*, *Imazden*, and *Kel Ayfza*. They are said to be matrilineally related, but nobody is able to prove this genealogically, and among the *Imazden* there is a matrilineage of four generations which is matrilineally related to people of the *Iberrimaten* tribe and not to their fellow tribesmen.

Members of the important vassal tribe the *Dag Rell* will also frequently claim common matrilineal descent. However, they do not know the name of their proper ancestress. They say that they descend from a woman named *Takawa* who was also the ancestress of the vassal tribes known as *Ayi Loweyen* and *Kel Ahmet*. The *Dag Rell* tribe was founded by the man *Rell* who lived about seven generations
[13] ago. It falls into two halves known as the *Dag Rell* proper and the *Imazliten*. Some Tuareg of the

Tribal Structure in Ahaggar

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==	foreleg	IV	upper part of right foreleg behind the right ear
	cheek	I	
	neck	IV	upper part of right foreleg right hind thigh
==	cheek below the eye	I	
⌊	cheek	IVI	upper part of right foreleg
⌊	foreleg	IV	upper part of right foreleg behind the right ear
	foreleg	-IV	upper part of right foreleg
	hind thigh	VI	upper part of right foreleg
	cheek	⌊	right side of neck
	hind thigh	⌊	right side of neck

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right side of neck

Fig. 101 a-c. Camel-brands of three Ahaggar tribes.

- a. Brands of the *Kal Bala* tribe.
- b. Brands of the *Agha-en-zeht* tribe. The main brand of this tribe is V called *sumasort*. The brands ⌊ & ⌊ are due to intermarriage with the *Sklen-en-zeht* tribe where the principal brand is ⌊ called *amasleg*.
- c. Brands of the *Dag Rali* tribe. The main brand characteristic of this tribe is | placed on the right side of the camel's neck. This brand was that used by the founder of the tribe named *Rali* and to-day it forms part of most *Dag Rali* brands which are always placed on the right side of the camel's neck. The *Dag Rali* brands have individual names. [632]
The last one is known as *edkikil n ayaleg*, that is "the raven's foot".

Dag Rali tribe may claim that these two halves are matrilineally related to one another, but also that they do not descend from sisters. It seems in fact as if these two halves stand in a cross-cousin relationship to one another, and it is in agreement with this that the *Dag Rali* proper speak of the *Imezliten* as "children of their mother's brother". The two halves in the past intermarried much though marriages between them are very rare nowadays. Thus in 1951 there were only two marriages between people of the two tribal halves.

I believe that other tribes of Ahaggar have a structure similar to that of the *Dag Rali*, but the structure of Tuareg tribes is extremely difficult to grasp because very few Tuareg know their genealogies more than three or four generations back.

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591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

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611 Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Rali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Rali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Taphawhawt* sub-tribe.

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565 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Rali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Rali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have

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631 particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339).

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621 Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

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613 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names - generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Rali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4-6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

Tribal Sections in Ahaggar

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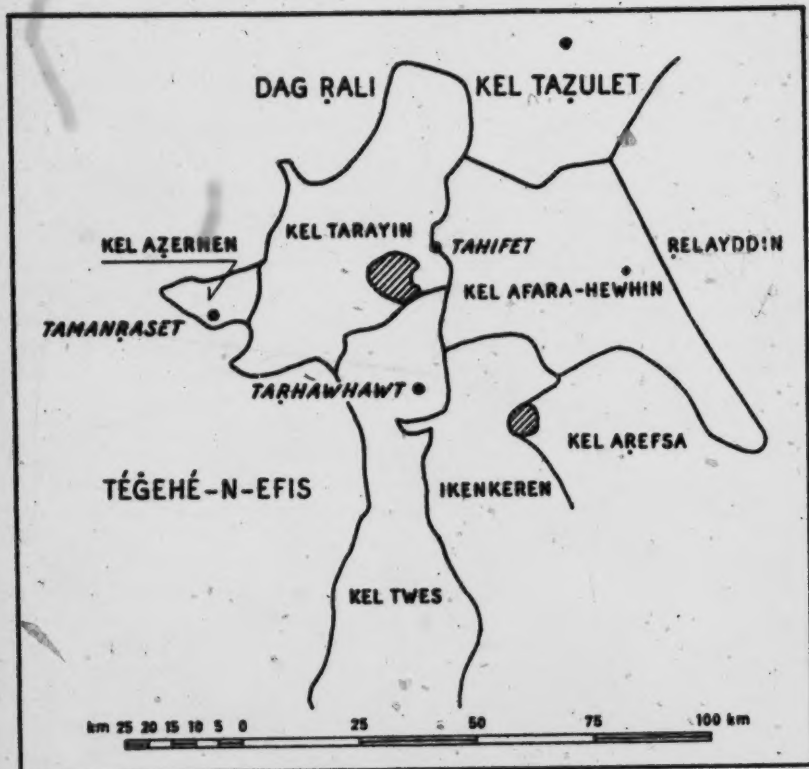


Fig. 104. Map showing the sub-areas of the territory of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. The sub-areas have no proper limits towards the south where the country changes into barren and uninhabited desert. The hatched areas are mountainous regions which are not considered parts of sub-areas. West of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* territory is the territory of the *Téghé-n-Efis* tribe where two sections of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* have their normal grazing grounds. To the north are the territories of the *Dag Rali* and the *Kel Tazulet* tribes. The *Kel Azerhen* section frequently camps in the *Dag Rali* territory and intermarries with the *Kel Tamanraaset* section of that tribe. To the east is the territory of the *Relayddin* who are now considered part of the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* territory chiefly belongs to the *Abade* zone, but the northern parts of the two northernmost sub-areas are within the zones of *Tarayin* and *Ataker*.

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Tribal Sections in Ahaggar

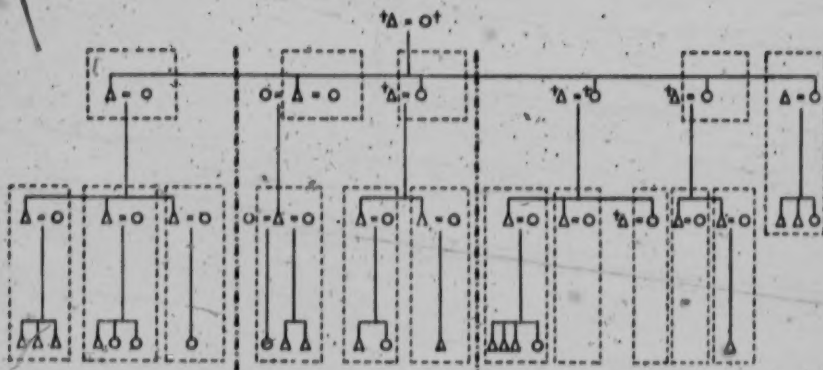


Fig. 105. The section camp of the *Kel Aggræn* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Agah-en-ichli*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

614 also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members
 613 of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members
 621 of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections
 622 of foreign tribes.

613 When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10-20 tents, which otherwise are
 621 split up into minor camps of 2-7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family
 596 which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually
 * 233 owned and every tent or household is self-supporting - "it has its own churning bag and its own millet
 622 bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or
 422 four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the
 422 section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50-100 metres
 between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section
 join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because
 kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative
 unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the
 labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so
 close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in

341 the diagram below (Fig. 105). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual
 621 pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rall* tribe resident mainly in the
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Tribal Sections and Territories in Ahaggar

Sub-areas of the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe

Sub-areas of the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe

(The tribe is divided into two halves:— (1) the *Dag Rali* proper comprising the sections named *Kel Tamanqasset* and *Kel Terhemasset*, (2) the *Imessilliten* comprising the two sections named *Kel Hérhafek* and *Kel Telhart*)

Tenants	Name and value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the <i>Amenukal</i>
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe and leader of the <i>Kel Tamanqasset</i> section	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant	2 goats
YEKI of the <i>Kel Tamanqasset</i> section	TAGMART No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
AMMA of the <i>Kel Terhemasset</i> section	ARECHCHUM No particular value	2 water bags 1 rope of goat's hair
KHABTÉ of the <i>Kel Tamanqasset</i> section & AKHASEN of the <i>Kel Terhemasset</i> section	I-N-DALAG Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
AFAREK of the <i>Kel Hérhafek</i> section	AKAL-EREREN Hunting of barbary sheep	Unknown
BUSKEYAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the <i>Kel Telhart</i> section	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown)
[341] DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections <i>Kel Tamanqasset</i> and <i>Kel Terhemasset</i>	ABALESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abalessa and other agricultural settlements	No land-rent as the <i>Amenukal</i> receives dues for every garden in this area
DANGUCHI, chief of the tribe representing the two sections of <i>Kel Tamanqasset</i> and <i>Kel Terhemasset</i> Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections	TEZZA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months annually. Domestic animals never graze in this sub-area	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep). (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) are also given to Danguchi as tribal chief)

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Sub-areas of the territory of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe(The tribe is divided into three sub-tribes named *Kel Tayhawhawt*, *Isandan*, and *Kel Arefaa*)

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Tenants	Value of sub-area	Annual land-rent to the <i>Amemkal</i>
SAMA ALATOKH , chief of the <i>Aguh-en-tehlé</i> , chief of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tayhawhawt</i> , leader of the section <i>Kel Twee</i>	Cultivation grounds at Tayhawhawt and I-n-dalag Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys for domestication	2 donkeys
OMANA , <i>khalifa</i> (leader) of the <i>Ikenkeren</i> section of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tayhawhawt</i>	Hunting of barbary sheep Collecting of wild seeds	3 goats
ABERGALI , <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Kel Tarayin</i> section of the sub-tribe <i>Kel Tayhawhawt</i>	Hunting of barbary sheep	2 goats
KHOFA of the <i>Kel Tarayin</i> section. No position as leader	Cultivation grounds at I-n-agriwal and I-n-dalag. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys	2 donkeys
DEYNI , chief of the <i>Kel Arefaa</i> sub-tribe forming only one section	No particular value	No land-rent
AKAWALI , chief of the <i>Isandan</i> sub-tribe and leader of the <i>Kel Afaa-he lin</i> section	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet Hunting of barbary sheep Wild donkeys	1 donkey
HANU , <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Kel Agermen</i> section of the <i>Isandan</i> sub-tribe	Cultivation grounds at Tamanyaset In the past wild donkeys	1 donkey
KHOSENI , <i>khalifa</i> of the <i>Relayddin</i> now attached to the <i>Aguh-en-tehlé</i> tribe	<i>Khoseni</i> is in command of the <i>Relayddin</i> territory to which all members of the <i>Relayddin</i> have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the <i>Amemkal</i>	

The Ahaggar Tuareg have various terms to indicate the size of a camp. A large camp is always known as *amezzay*, while a small camp is called *dyéwen* or *amezzim*. These two terms are used to distinguish between goat-camps and section camps (camel camps) though they do not have so absolute a meaning. Two camps placed close to each other (100-200 metres between them, whether of the same tribe or not) are known as *hergen* (or *amezzay n hergen*) and a camp very far from wells or water pools is called *ahargen*. Apart from the migrations between the *Abada* and the *Atakor* zones and those beyond Ahaggar in case of severe drought, nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg are not very extensive and occur within a limited area. The Ahaggar Tuareg are not "grands nomades" like

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221 many tribes of the northern desert, and migrations are on the whole independent of caravan trading.
 [241] Migrations are to some extent determined by agriculture in cases where the households possess
 [42] irrigated gardens cultivated on their behalf by the *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*). Some goat-camps may move
 [565] their tents close to the agricultural settlements when wheat and barley are harvested in April. Date
 [245] palm-owning Tuareg of two vassal tribes (*Iklan-en-tawsit* and *Ikechchemaden*) will also visit the oases
 of Silet and Tibeghin where dates are harvested in August and September. But the Tuareg visiting
 these oases will generally not take flocks and tents with them when collecting their dates, which are
 * [233] harvested mainly by black-skinned *Harratin* of Abalessa. It should once more be mentioned that most
 Ahaggar tribes in dry years keep their camel herds outside of Ahaggar - mainly in Tamesna - and
 the members of a section have their herds guarded collectively in these distant regions.

423 The territory of a vassal tribe is generally divided into sub-areas, the right to which is vested in
 311 individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an
 economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for
 the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for the collection of wild seeds,
 or have soil and water suitable for agriculture. A few areas possess all these qualities. I have studied
 614 the division of the tribal territory into sub-areas only in the two tribes *Dag Rali* and *Aguh-en-tehlé*.

613 In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe there is a certain correspondance between sections and sub-areas in the
 423 way that most sub-areas belong to individuals of the matrilineage which forms the core of a particular
 section. Consequently the Tuareg of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe sometimes speak of sub-areas as section
 territories. However, two tribal sections living outside the tribal territory have no particular sub-
 areas, and one section has two sub-areas, the rights to which are vested in two individual tenants
 (cf. p. 149). In the *Dag Rali* tribe there are more sub-areas than tribal sections, and some sub-areas
 have two tenants who belong to distinct tribal sections, members of which all have the right to use

[428] these sub-areas (cf. p. 148). When a tenant dies his rights to a sub-area should be taken over by a
 maternal kinsman who lives in the section to which he belongs matrilineally. Tenants of sub-areas are
 frequently section-leaders. In the lists p. 148-149 where I mention the sub-areas in the *Dag Rali* and
 [643] *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes are indicated the names of tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual
 land-rent paid to the *Amenukul*, who is the true master of the land inhabited by tribes of the *Kel*
Rela drum-group.

423 For the land-rent (*chéhé-n-amaful*) paid to the *Amenukul* the tenants obtain the following rights
 422 over their sub-areas:—

(1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate
 and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period
 of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting
 are protected for three months.

(2) They have the right to half of all the wild donkeys caught in their areas.

[224] (3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting
 grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant, while the hunter can
 keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81; Foley 1930, p. 43 f.). My
 own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide,

Tribal Sections and Territories in Ahaggar

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Fig. 108. A camp of two related goat-herding units with their straw-huts (*Akhran*, of the cylindrical type) placed at a certain distance from each other in order that the two flocks shall not mix. Tassili-n-Ajjer, the *Kel Uhoi* tribe (*Isfhemaren*).



423
422 the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955a, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different
224 rules (cf. list p. 148).

423
421 (4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden in their sub-areas, but for sub-areas of the *Dog Rali* tribe these payments are now given to the *Amenukal* because, it is said, the *Dog Rali* Tuareg consider such dues incompatible with Islamic law. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatoes.

425
643 Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the *Amenukal*, the indemnity falling to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for the violation of protected pastures. Nowadays the price is determined by the *Amenukal*. When a tenant dies his rights and obligations should preferably be taken over by a maternal kinsman. Traditionally the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved to people of the same section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole tribe they belong to all tribal members. These traditional rules, however, do not seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for the hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote seems to be wrong in stating that the chief of the tribe has the right to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole tribal territory (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). In the two tribes here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

AYR

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* 233 The Ayr Tuareg follow the Islamic rules of inheritance described from Ahaggar p. 137 f., and property marks as in Ahaggar are patrilineally inherited in the way that people take over their father's mark.
[228] However, property marks play a less important role in Ayr, where the Tuareg with the exception of the *Igdalen* Tuareg (vassals) do not mark goats, sheep, and cattle. Other tribes of Ayr mark only camels and donkeys, and branding with a red-hot iron as well as earmarks cut with a knife are used for these animals. Both types of marks are known as *éwel*. Some Ayr Tuareg and all Tuareg of the *Kel Geres* group use brands for camels and donkeys, and this seems also to be the case with the *Iellemmeden Kel Dennak*. Some of the brands used among the *Kel Ayr* are published by Rodd and Nicolas (Rodd 1926a, pl. 21 p. 195; Nicolas 1950a, p. 268 f.). The earmarks used for camels and

had five vassal tribes, and the *Imenrasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraŕen* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Rat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "the *Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*effebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraŕen* with the title of *Ampar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of *Tasile-n-Ajjer* was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Ampar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judicial authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraŕen*, for all *Ajjer* Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraŕen* tribe, and in difficult judicial problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraŕen*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Rela*, *Taytoŕ*, and *Tégeŕ Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoŕ* and the *Kel Rela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-taharin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Rela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoŕ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégeŕ Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs - perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

	Noble tribes	Vassal tribes	Isekhemaren tribes	
The <i>Taytoḥ</i> Drum-Group	<i>Taytoḥ</i> 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure <i>Taytoḥ</i> stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief <i>Mokhammed</i> <i>ag Mokhammed</i> who pos- sesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the <i>Taytoḥ</i> drum-group also now live in Tames- na. The <i>Taytoḥ</i> and their vassals frequently inter- marry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	<i>Kel Ahmet</i> 127 <i>Iwerweren</i> 47 <i>Téghéḥ-n-Efis</i> 127 <i>Ikuḥḥisen</i> 84 <i>Ikechchemaden</i> (now mixed with the <i>Dag Rali</i> tribe of the <i>Kel Rela</i> drum-group). <i>Irechchamen</i> A tribe patrilineally re- lated to the noble <i>Tay-</i> <i>toḥ</i> , matrilineally to the vassal tribe of <i>Kel Ahmet</i> . In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	<i>Kel I-n-tuin</i> (about 20 tents in 1938).	162 565 582 614 634 642
The <i>Téghé-Mellet</i> Drum-Group	<i>Téghé Mellet</i> 33	<i>Kel Turha</i> (part of the <i>Ayi Lowayen</i> tribe of the <i>Kel Rela</i> drum-group).	<i>Kel Terurt</i> 62 <i>Kel Uhet</i> 70	
Noble Tribes Without Vassals	<i>Kel-ahem-mellen</i> <i>Ihadayen</i>	The <i>Isekhemaren</i> tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.		

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amemkal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsef* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsef* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsef* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aghub-en-teleh* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsef* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amemkal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isamden* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet.

643 and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kgs of butter annually to the *Amenukal* who rewards the man
 651 bringing this payment with a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. As to the *Kel Arefsa* sub-tribe its collective
 614 payments are the same as those made by the *Isandan*. (2) The *Dag Rali* tribe pays *tiwse* as follows:—
 613 12 bags of millet (i.e., 3 bags from each of the four tribal sections) corresponding to 6 camel-loads,
 565 are given to the chief of the *Dag Rali*. He sends 10 bags to the *Amenukal*, and keeps two for himself.
 In case of good grazing the whole tribe gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the *Amenukal*. —
 All vassal tribes of the *Kel Rela* drum group make such annual payments to the *Amenukal*, and this
 also applies to the *Isekhemaren* tribes. These payments, known as *tiwse*, are in fact tokens of vassalage,
 [634] and are never made by noble Tuareg. The payments should properly belong to the *Amenukal* as
 drum-chief of the *Kel Rela*, while vassal tribes of other drum-groups should make their payments to
 their particular drum-chiefs.

643 The *Amenukal* had other rights over his subjects. He had the right to summon the vassals of his
 634 drum-group to war and large-scale raiding, and he had the right to half of all war booty taken by his
 565 vassals. This right was known as *abellag*, and the vassals of other drum-groups paid similar dues to
 their particular drum-chiefs. Furthermore, we have seen that the *Amenukal* as the leader of the *Kel*
Rela drum-group could inherit livestock from such deceased subjects as had no living patrilineal
 [614] kinsmen, though he would make no use of livestock thus inherited. The animals would remain in
 the tribe to which the deceased person belonged under the supervision of the tribal chief (cf. p. 138).
 As a drum-chief the *Amenukal* also had the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief
 [614] within his drum-group. This is also the case nowadays, but it should here be mentioned that the chief
 of the very important vassal tribe, the *Dag Rali*, has the right to one of the *Amenukal*'s riding camels
 on the latter's death.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the *Amenukal* could claim various indemnities (*eddiyet*)
 634 among which have been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants (p. 151).
 681 Even to-day the *Amenukal* can claim these and many other indemnities. In case of adultery, for instance,
 [684] he can claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches
 his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her and the seducer on the spot, and formerly
 [642] the families of persons thus killed had no right to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth
 [614] paid in case of murder within the tribe, but the *Amenukal* might then claim an indemnity from the
 murderer. When the murderer and the person killed came from different tribes, blood-wealth had
 to be paid to the family of the slain man by the murderer's kinsmen. The *Amenukal* could not deny
 his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid
 he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain
 man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were ever paid.

[683] For bodily harm of various kinds there were other indemnities to be paid in camels (cf. p. 102), and
 [178] such indemnities are perhaps made even nowadays, but blood-wealth and revenge have been abolished
 [648] by the French, who have in many ways given the *Amenukal* more power over his subjects than he
 had in the past.

178 To-day the authority of the *Amenukal* is almost unlimited. If, for instance, a man will not allow
 643 his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the *Amenukal* and ask him whether he

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenokal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytok* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Rela* drum-group. 634 565 571 614 602

The *Kel Rela* drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *semaɣlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *semaɣlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imɣad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Rela* tribe who were leaders of *semaɣlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *semaɣlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.). 634 565 571 613 178

There are certain traces of *semaɣlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwɛ* from a group of vassals to the *semaɣlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwɛ* payments to a noble *semaɣlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenokal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwɛ* payment to *Mari agɣ Amayɛs* of the *Kel Rela* section named *Inemba Kel-Emerri*, but gives no *tiwɛ* to the *Amenokal* Bay, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*éheré-n-amadāl*) is always paid to the *Amenokal*. I was also told by the *Kel Rela* *Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwɛ* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Agub-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenokal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imɣad* class made *tiwɛ* payments both to their individual *semaɣlayt* masters and to the *Amenokal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *semaɣlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *semaɣlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Rela* group, to the *Amenokal*. The obligations of a noble *semaɣlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *semaɣlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*abellag*) taken by 634 565 571 613 721

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vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temazlayt* master. However, should a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temazlayt* master or another noble Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.

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The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temazlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

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In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning it not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

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The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

M
582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
(114) functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symmetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his utmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T
(171) It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Kriger 1937, p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T
585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
(172) before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabout. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—